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Acts 9,4

Luke 19,6

FINIS.

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Luke 19,6

FINIS.

20.

The Trumpet of VVarre.

A Sermon preached at Paules Croſſe the ſeuenth of Maie 1598.

By M. Steph. Goſſon Parſon of Great Wigborow in Eſſex.

Printed at London by V.S. for I.O. dwelling in Paules churchyard at the ſigne of the Parot.

BODLEIANA · BIBLIOTHECA ·

To the most reuerend Father in God, Richard Bishop of London, my verie good Lord, health and happinesse heere, and in the world to come.

RIght reuerend my verie good Lord, euerie diuine knowes, that there is a store-house in the Church of God, into which euerie good christian brings some affliction suffered, or some trauell vndertaken for Gods sake. And although that from Abel *to Christ, and from Christ Iesus to this present day, there haue beene many prizes of both sorts carried into this treasurie, yet will it not be full before the ende of the world, vntill which time, neither the teares nor the trauels of the Church are like to cease. Therfore seeing it hath pleased God of his goodnesse to make mee a little Naile in his Temple, to hang some part of his seruice vppon, and hath from time to time affoorded me a place among many learned men, called out from their studies in the Vniuersities, or from their particular charges in the country,*

to the publike seruice of the church at Paules *Crosse, where euerie man bestirres him like a Bee, to carrie waxe and honny to the hiue, and euerie man is profitable in his paines: I haue brought in these labours to the church, fitted as well as I could, both to the time wherin we liue, and to that honourable assemblie to which I spake.*

And because S: Augustine *confesses, that when he beholdes men carried away with a loue of this present world, he cannot tel how wisdome should come in season to do them any good, in that people blowen vp with prosperitie despise all that is saide vnto them: finding a great parte of the ancient glorie of this kingdome blasted with the breath of schisme, and with an expectation of warres and troubles, and espying also with the Prophet* Ieremie, *that there is no taking the wilde Asse in the wildernesse before she be with foale, I haue stept in in such a time, as wisedom may happely come in season.*

The matters I intreated of are great, and I am little, but God (which when he was great became little to preach vnto the world) hath assisted me: and what I haue deliuered, men shall best see to be true, when reading and preaching shall be remooued, the cloude of this bodie rent in peeces, and wee with purified and glorified bo-

dies

dies ſhall looke vppon the Lorde. I knowe, that whilſt wee liue here below, as preaching is compared in the Reuelation *vnto thunder, ſo it is like it in the cauſe and effects of thunder Thunder proceedes from a vapor lifted vp from the earth, and compaſſed with a colde cloude, in the motion and agitation, it catcheth fire, which breaketh out preſently where the cloude is thinneſt, and being out, ſometime it ſtrikes the bodie of a man, and not the cloathes, ſometime the cloathes, and not the bodie. Preaching proceedes from the meditation of the heart, lifted vp from earth to heauen, cold fleſh is the cloud that keeps it in in the motion and agitation of the minde, it catches fire, while I muſed (ſaith* Dauid) *the fire kindled, being ſtreightned within vs, it ſtriues to vente it ſelfe, and breakes out at the lippes of the preacher where the cloude is thinneſt. and being forth, ſomtime it ſtrikes the princes of the earth, and not the people that ſtand about them: ſometime againe it hittes and moones the poore people, and not the Potentates. When theſe arrowes of the almightie flie abroade, a preacher muſt not be diſmaide to ſee them glaunce in the going for they ſticke not euerie where.*

Nay, it falleth out ſometimes, that the hearers deale with vs, as Saul *did with* Dauid, *who threw a ſpeare at him when he plaide vppon his*

harpe, to charme the eiull spirite that was in Saul. Of which action it was wittily deuised and written by him that cutte the whole Historie of Dauid for the King of Spaine, and sette it out in pictures. Dura est mens hominis ac sancto ingrata labori, The heart of man is harde, and vnkinde to holie labours.

I speake not this in respect of any crooked measure laide vnto my trauailes, for then I should detract from that religious auditorie which gaue me gracious hearing & acceptance, the glory shal be Gods, which wrought it in their hearts, and I trust, their answeres a reward to them in heauen, for the heede and regard they gaue vnto me. And that my sermon might remaine somewhat longer with them then the time wherein it was deliuered, I haue at the request of my friendes put it foorth in print, to the view of all, dedicating it vnto your Lo. partelie to submit it to your L. graue and learned censure, and to the censure of the Church of England, according to the rule of the holie ghost, which will haue the spirits of the Prophets subiect to the Prophets: which course if euerie man could be content in humilitie to take, the controuersies of our church would quikly be composed: partly to giue some publike testimonie of my thankefull heart and dutifull affection to your Lordshippe,

which

which hath enabled me to do ſome good in the church of God, in ſome inferiour ſeruices therof, according to the talent beſtowed vppon me. Thus humblie beſeeching God, which is the beginning and the ende of all things, to giue peace to his church and to our country, and to bleſſe and continue your honourable labors in them both, and to crowne them in heauen when your race is runne, I humbly take my leane.

Your Lordſhips moſt
humble ſeruant,

Stephan Goſſon.

The Trumpet of VVarre.

The Text. 2 Chro. 20. vers. 20.

And when they arose early in the morning, they went foorth to the Wilderneſſe of Tekoa, *and as they departed,* Iehoſhaphat *ſtood & ſaid, Heare ye me O* Iudah, *and ye inhabitants of* Hieruſalem, *putte your truſt in the Lord your God, and ye ſhalbe aſſured: beleeue his Prophets; and ye ſhal proſper:*

IT is a wonder (Right honourable) to ſee the baſe feare of man, the people of God may ſomtime be caſt into, when they heare the enimy is in armes, or approacheth the Land, or hath taken

some sort to intercept the passages and annoy the land: It was Asa his case, king of Iuda, when Baasa King of Israel was come to Rama, and had fortified there in such sort, that hee stopt the passages of Asa his kingdome, and none coulde safelie gette in or out. This did cast Asa into a feare, and Hananie the prophet reproued him for it, 2 Chro. 16, 7. Indeede as Hanibal neuer sawe Fabius appeare vppon the mountaines, but he likened him to a cloud that threatned raine: So when the enemie is possessed of places of aduantage, it is humane wisedome to reckon vppon a storme, but if hee bee Gods enemie, it is humane weakenesse to stande in feare of him. In this case the heathen Poets haue had theyr times to turne their pastorall tunes into sounde of Trumpets, and the holie Prophets and Priestes of God haue had their times also to change their exhortations to mercie and compassion, into charges and allarmes, and either with Azariah incourage both the Prince and the people to bee strong handed, 2. Chro. 15. chapter 7. vers. Or with Iehaziel in the 15. verse of this chapter, euen in the name of God commaunde

both

both the Prince and the people not to feare the multitude of men, but to march forwardes boldlie towardes the enemie, and loke him in the face. I will follow the example of the Prophets and Priestes of God at this time, and make you such musicke vppon this grounde, as it shall please God to minister vnto mee. This Scripture which I haue read vnto you, is a verie Trumpet of warre: herein wee find Iuda and Hierusalem marching toward the enemie, vnder the conduct of Iehoshaphat, vppon intelligence giuen, that there was a great combination of forraign Princes, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the inhabitants of Mount Seir were come from beyonde the seas to inuade Iehoshaphat. The place in the wildernesse where the armie sate downe was discouered.

That which offers it selfe to be discoursed, stands vpon these two parts in generall, the first is the action of warre, in these words, And whē they arose early in the morning, they went forth into the wildernes of Tekoa: The second is the exhortation to this action in these words, And as they departed Iehoshaphat stood & said, heare ye me O Iudah, & ye inhabitants of Ierusalē, put

The diuision.

your truſt in the Lord your God, and yee ſhall be aſſured, beleeue his Prophets, and ye ſhall proſper. In the action of warre there ariſe theſe foure poynts in particular to be handled: firſt, the equitie of the action: ſecondly, the cauſe that makes the action of warre to be iuſt and lawfull: thirdly, the perſons concurring to this action: fourthly, the execution of it, that is, the manner howe it muſt be executed. Theſe foure I muſt fetch a little further off, yet not ſo far, but that I may eaſily drawe them out from the verſes going before, and immediatly following after in this chapter. In the exhortation to this action, there be alſo two acts of the ſoule, two obiects, two conſequents: the firſt act is to truſt: the firſt obiect is God, the firſt conſequent is ſafetie. Put your truſt in the Lord your God, and ye ſhall be aſſured. The ſecond act, to beleeue: the ſecond obiect, the Prophets: the ſecond conſequent, Proſperitie. Beleeue the Prophets, and ye ſhall proſper. That I may ſpeake of all theſe parts in order, to Gods glorie, and the opportunitie of the times wherein wee liue, I beſeech you to ioyne with mee in humble and heartie prayers, &c.

1 *The equitie of the action of Warre.*

TO giue you a view of the equitie of this action, you shall finde it to be iust in reason, in religion, and in the practise of the church. It is iust in reason. Thomas 1.p.q. 76.a.5. disputing how fitte a receptacle the bodie of man is for the soule of mã, shewes that *Natura non deest in necessarijs*, Nature is not wanting in things necessarie. But as nature hath giuen to bruit beastes hornes and hookes, teeth & talants, for defence and offence: so hauing giuen vnto man none of these, she hath giuen him reason and hands in steede of these. Man naturally consists of a bodie and a soule: his soule is comprehensiue of vniuersalities; and hath *Virtutem ad infinita*, it is able to deuise and contriue infinite things: nature hath sette no bounds nor limits to the thoughts or opinions of the soule, neither hath she set any bounds to the couerings of the bodie, but as the soule is able to deuise a couering for the bodie of such a temper as shal hold out the dint of sword, and smaller shotte, and to deuise engins of warres for batterie and assaults, so hath shee giuen handes to the

body, which are *organa organorum*, instruments of instruments to frame these whē they are deuised. Nature not being wanting in things necessary, there may bee a time wherein it shall be iust and necessary for the soule of man to contriue weapons, & engins of offence, for the hands to worke them, the body and armes to weare and weild them, and to put them in execution: such is the time of warre. It is iust in religion, for the spirite of God which is a holy spirite, that neuer persuades men vnto any sinne, was vpon Iehaziel verse 14. of this chapter, exhorting Iudah and Ierusalem to this action at the putting on of their armour, Exodus 15. this is Gods Title: *The Lorde is a man of warre.* In the Psalmes, he is saide to teach the fingers of the warrier to fight, and to couer his head in the day of battell; in the time of warre the battells fought, are saide to be Gods battels, and the ouerthrowes giuen, are saide to be giuen by him. It is iuste in the practise of the Church. Deut. 20. 2. When the armies are come to an enterview, and the battell readie to ioyne, God commaundes the Priest to stand forth and encourage the souldier. God hath so disposed of our functi

on,

on, that wée shal carie the harts of the people in our handes, and either discourage them from the fight when God is angry, as Michaiah the Prophet did 2 C...o. 18. 16. I saw all Israell scattered in the mountaines as sheepe that haue no shepheard, let them returne euery man to his house in peace: Or animate and harten them on to the fight when God is with them, as the Priests did in the 6 of Iosua, when they blew the trumpets and the walls of Iericho fell before them. This hath bene the practise of the Church of England by the testimonie of our owne Chronicles, when the honour of our nation, the chiualrie of England hath bene in the fielde, it hath bene vsed for a sufficient argument of encouragement vnto the Souldier, before the actuall encounter with the enimie, to saye thus much, This daye is the Church of England vppon her knees for vs. The action of warre being thus found to be good & lawfull in reason, in religion, and in the practise of the Church: it followes in the second place, to discouer the cause ỳ makes it to be iust and lawful.

The cause of Warre.

WArre is of the nature of iust iudgemẽt,

and the calamities that waite vpon warre be very great: therefore as a Iudge doeth not punish euery light offence, but such as are against the good of the common weale, so warre is not to be vndertaken vpon euery light occasion, but vpon such as shall bee proportionable to the damnage & distresse of warre. Because there are many false claimes and titles laide vpon the action of warre to iustifie the same, it shall not be amisse to shut out the false titles as I passe along, and let in the true. The first of them is infidelitie: the second is, the reuenge of the iniuries done vnto God by the sinne of Idolatrie, because Deut. 2. 34. the children of Israel warre vppon Sehon king of Hesbon an Idolater, they destroy his people, and take his cities. And Deut. 13. 13. this title seemes to be expressed, God chargeth his people, that when they shall heare anie hath gone out from among them and drawen other to the worship of strange gods, they shall destroy the inhabitantes of that cittie, and race the cittie. The third is, supreame authority in things tẽporall. They that holde this opinion, imagine the heathen not to be Lordes of their owne lands, but either the Emperor or the Pope. The

False titles of warre.

fourth

fourth is, vnaptnesse to gouerne, because the heathen are barbarous and vnfit to gouerne, and the lawe of Nature willes that such shoulde bee ruled by wiser than themselues; Aristotle saith, that warre vndertaken against such, is iust and lawfull, because it is attempted against those that are borne to obey, and will not. This title is vpheldе by Maior 2, d. 44. and by Sepulpeda 7. polit. cap. 3, 4. Polit. cap. 5.

They are all foure false and erroneous: the two first, because God hath not giuen euery man authoritie to reuenge the iniurie done to him, but saith, *Mihi vindicta, & ego rependam.* Neither is it expedient for the race of man that it should be so, for, by this meanes the garboiles and troubles of the earth would be so great, that Gods iniuries woulde rather bee multiplied than auoided. And seeing this cannot be demonstrated, Idolaters might lawfully betake themselues to armes in their own defence, wherby warre should be iust on both ades, which is vnpossible. As in things naturall, *Simile non agit contra simile*, Fire doeth not fight with fire, but fire against water, one contrary struggles with an other: so in things morall, *Innocens non agit contra innocentem*,

centem, The innocent striues not with the innocent, but the innocent with the offender, and the offender with the innocent, the warre can be iust but of one side.

As for the instance of the wars of Gods people vpon Idolaters, diuers titles haue bin sifted, and sought out by diuers authors to iustifie them, of which I will yeeld you but two, both discouered in the scriptures. The one is Gods donation. Psal. 105.44. He gaue them the lands of the heathen, & they toke the labours of the people in possession. Iphtah pleades this title against the king of the Ammonites, Iudg. 11.24 Wouldest not thou possesse that which Chemosh thy God giueth thee to possesse? So, whomsoeuer the Lorde our God driueth out before vs, them will wee possesse. The other is the wrong first done vnto Israell in their passage as they went out of Egypt, for which God gaue Sihon and his people into the handes of Israel, and they possessed their landes. 27 verse of the same chapter. The third title is as false as the former, in that all the kinges of the earth doe holde their crownes of GOD that saith *Per me Reges regnant*, by me Kinges rule and Princes decree Iustice, in their

landes

landes and dominions temporall, neither Pope nor Emperour haue any thing to do. And Caietan auoucheth, that to giue any such right to Pope or Emperour, is to take away the distinction of iurisdictions, and to bring in a confusion into the world. Last of all, how vntrue and erronious the fourth title is, may easilie appeare, in that many pagans and infidels are more ingenious, politike, and apt to gouerne, then many christiãs. Neither is it inough to iustifie the warre, that the people vpon whome the warre is made, are inferiour in witte vnto the warriour, except they be so pore that they liue like bruite beastes, or feede vppon humane flesh. In which case peraduenture it may bee lawfull to inuade them, not to kill them, as the Spaniardes did the naked Indians, but to bring them in order to liue like men. Aristotle holdes this to bee lawfull, when such people differ as farre from men, as the bodie differs from the Soule. Yet is this either seldome or neuer to bee admitted, except vpon some occasion of innocents or wrong, and the warre rather reuoked to a defensiue, then an offensiue warre.

Q.59.a.8.

1.Polit. cap.5.

The

The false titles excluded, there remaines but one iust in generall, that is, Necessitie. *Nullum bellum iustum nisi necessarium.* It may be iust and necessarie twoo wayes, the one is in defence of the innocent, the other is in reuenge of iniuries. In defence of the innocent, because God hath giuen all the kingdomes of the earth to his sonne Christ Iesus, Psal. 2. Princes are exhorted to kisse the sonne of God, least he be angrie, and they perish. In another place of the Psalmes, Princes are commanded to set open their gates, that the king of glorie may come in. Therefore if either Turke, or Pope, or Idolatrous Princes force the law of Mahomet or Idolatrie vpon their people, when they are desirous to embrace the Gospel, the Gospel may then bee brought in by armes: but if the Turke or Pope, or Idolatrous Princes beguile their people, and their people willingly entertaine a false religion, there is no violence offered, and *Vbi non est vis non habet locum defensio:* where no violence is offered, defence can take no place. On the contrarie, if the Turk, Pope, or Idolatrous Princes conspire to driue out the Gospel from those Christian kingdomes where it is preached, *Non est simile*

ius.

ius. The case is not alike: to banish the Gospel is to do an iniurie.

The iniuries that may make warre to be iust and lawfull, are of diuers sortes. Either when one Prince withholdes that which is anothers, or when *iura gentium*, the lawes of nations or passages are denied, Deut. 25. 17. When Amelec had vexed the Israelites as they went out of Egypt, and smote the hindmost of them, God commanded them to reuenge it, and to rote out the remembraunce of Amelec from vnder heauen. Iniuries. 1 2

Moreouer, if the fame and honour of a Prince be hurt, or disgrace and indignitie offered to his embassadours, warre may lowfully be waged to reuenge it, 2. Sam. 10 Vpon the like wrong doone to Dauids Messengers sent to the King of Ammon, when their cloathes were cutte, and their beardes shaued, Dauid reuenged it by armes. Yea, it is sufficient if iniurie bee done to a Princes friend, Gen. 14. Iniurie was done to Lot in surprising him, and Abraham rescued him by sword. 1. Macha. 11. 27. Demetrius promiseth succor to Ionathan against them that kept the Castle of Hierusalem, and commaunded the sorts

that

that annoyed the Iewes; Ionathan reciprocally sent a supplie of three thousand braue souldiers to Demetrius when his owne companies had forsaken him. The reason of it is this, *Amicus est alter idem.* Wrong done to a princes friend is done vnto himselfe, but this caution must be added, that is, that he that standes in neede of succour doe request it, as the menne of Gibeon did in the tenth of Iosua, or at least be willing to be succourd *voluntate expressa aut interpretatiua*, to giue aide to such, is to set the helping hand to a iust and honest action. The last iniurie of all is inuasion, and this is the Title of the Warre in this place, Iehoshaphat and his people fight for their wiues, children, goods, landes, their owne liues, & their religion, against the inuader.

3 *The persons concurring to the action of warre.*

The third consideration is of the persons that concurre to the action of warre, which in this chapter are of foure sortes, the

the Prince, the peeres, the priests and the common souldier. As warre must haue a iust title to make it lawfull, so it must also be vndertaken by lawfull authoritie, that is, the authority of the Prince, who as he carries the sworde of Iustice to punish domesticall disturbers of the common weale, in respect whereof he is said Rom. 13. not to beare the sworde in vaine: so he defendeth his people from the soraine enimy by the sworde of warre, and is bound so to do Psal. 82.4. He is charged to saue the poore and oppressed, from the hand of the wicked that oppresseth them. The reason of it is this, that as in a common weale it is requisite there should be an authoritie, to punish offences, and to keepe the same in order: so in the wide worlde, that all kingdomes and commonweales might be preserued, it is requisit there shuld be a power & authority to punish iniuries, this power resting in no one Prince in the worlde as superiour to al other Princes, war steps in in the place of iust vindicatiue iudgement, God hath left no other meanes vnto Princes to flie vnto. Howsoeuer, this may seeme to bee controlde by scripture, and reason, in that Rom. 12. the Apostles councell is,

Render

Render to no man euill for euill. And if priuate reuenge be not to be admitted, because the selfe and same person is both a Iudge and an actor in his owne cause, it may peraduenture be thought as vnfitte for a Prince to be a Iudge and an actor in his owne cause. Yet is not the reuenge of a Prince cutte off by this. The Scripture Rom. 12. forbids priuate reuenge, because Reuenge is an acte of vindicatiue Iustice, which is *Actus iurisdictionis*, an acte of iurisdiction, which no priuate person obtaines by reason of any wrõg done to him: neuertheleſſe, if reuenge be taken by authority, it is not only not forbiddẽ by the apoſtle, but commended as a thing neceſſarie, in that he saith, Princes and Magiſtrates are the miniſters of God to take vengeance vpon them that doe euill. The argument drawn from a priuate person, holdeth not in comparison with a Prince. A priuate person hath a speedie waie to redreſſe his owne wrongs, by recourſe to the authoritie of his superiours: a Prince hath no superior vppon earth, nor any other redreſſe than warre if ſatiſfaction haue bẽne expected, and denied. A priuate person in taking reuenge in his owne cauſe may exteẽde the bounds

The difference betweene Princes & priuate persons in reuenge.

boundes of iustice, there is no such feare in the person of a Prince, his authoritie is publike and administerd by publike councell, whereby the affections of Princes are easily restrained: A private person cannot reuenge himselfe, because he may not be a Iudge and an actor in his owne case; a Prince may be a Iudge and an actor in his owne case: Princes are gods, the authoritie of a prince is a little arme of the broad sea of authority which is in God, & as God reuenging the iniuries done to him and his kingdome, is a Iudge and an actor in his owne case: so a Prince reuenging the iniuries done to him, and his dominions, may be a Iudge and an actor in his owne case.

2 The Peers

The second sort of persons are the Peers, which may be diuided into two rankes, either they are such as are called to councell of state, they are all bounde to giue faithful councell, not to deale with their master as Hushai dealt with Absalon when he taught him a trick to ouerthrow himselfe, or such as be leaders & commanders in the fielde, and they are all bound to the acte of fortitude, to fight manfully, and neither for feare, nor flattery, nor corruption,

nor losse of life, giue vp the townes and castles committed to their charge, without the consent of the prince that committed them to their trust.

3 The Priestes

The third be the priests, we concurre to this action, not to manage armes, our warfare is spiritual, our weapõs spiritual, they be praiers and teares: and as Dauid was vnfit to build the temple, because he was a warriour, so are we vnfit to fight, because we are of the temple. Yet we cõcurre with the action of warre thus farre, we conuerse with the souldier in the field, we blesse him and pray for him before the fight, and wee praise god for him when the fight is ended.

4 The Common Souldier.

The fourth & last is the common souldier, whose duty S. Iohn Baptist describes, Luc. 3.14. it is to do violence to no mã, but to be contented with their pay: war being of the nature of iust iudgement, souldiours are of the nature of executioners, whẽ they are called forth by authoritie to fight, they must remẽber that in this case they are inferior instruments vnto God to punish the offences of the wicked, & setting him before their eies in these actions, they may not consecrate the first fruites of their fingers with robberies & outrage vpon their friends, as they

they march along the countries, but ioyne with the priest and the Leuite, & the singers, as the souldiers do in this chapter, to call vpon the Lord whō they serue in war.

4. *The execution of the action of warre.*

The last point to be discoursed in the action of warre, is the manner how it must be executed, which in diuers places of the scripture is verie differēt. In this ca. Iehaziel willes them to stand still and loke on, without striking stroake, but this being a particular direction of Gods spirit for this warre of Iehoshaphat, and liable onely to that time, it cannot be a president for all other warres at all other times, therefore in the execution of warres there be three differences of times to be considered: the beginning, the progresse, and the ende of it. In the beginning, because reason requireth in the ordinarie affaires of this life, aduice and diligence should be vsed answerable to the qualitie of the busines in hand, war being the most weighty of all humane affaires, there must be counsel & deliberatiō to begin it, Pro. 24. 6. Thou shalt enterprize thy warre with councell,. In the 21

Fiue things to bee considered in the beginning of warres.

verse of this chapter Iehoshaphat enters into consultation about the warre. Here be fiue things in the beginning of warre to be thought vppon, the losse of the country against which we fight, the losse of the countrie that goes to fight, the losse of the church, the probabilitie of the victorie, and the intention of the warriour. If the losse of of the enemy be likely to fall out to be greater than the hurte he hath done, I finde no great reckoning made of it, because the wilfulnesse of the enemie is the cause of it, which may haue peace and will not. If the losse bee of the second or third sort, that is, the losse of the warriour, or the losse of the church be likely to be greater, then the hurt alredy receiued, there is som care to be had of it, for war hath the property of phisicke, if the phisitian by healing the present infirmitie, bring the bodie into worse case then it was before, his phisicke is very dangerous. Concerning the probabilitie of the victorie, which is the fourth poynt. Caietan holds that in the enterprise of war, the preparation must be so great, that the warriour maye be *Moraliter certus de victoria:* sure of the victorie. He brings in two examples for it, one of a Iudge, another of the Agent

G: 55. a. 8.

and

and the Patient. If a Iudge (saith he) send to apprehend a malefactor, and do not send so strong a companie that he may be sure to take him, he doth more hurt then good. In the time of war the reuenger is the Agent, the offender is the Patient, and in things natural *Agens debet esse potens ad superandum passum*, The agent must be powerfull and able to ouercome the patient: the medicine must bee stronger then the humour. But this is not absolutely necessarie, because it is impossible: Psa. 33. The king is not saued by the multitude of an hoast, nor the mightie man deliuered by his great strength. How puisant soeuer the preparation of princes be, if God be not with them it is nothing worth, 2. Chro. 25.8. The Armie of Amasiah consisted of an hundred thousande verie valiaunt men, but the man of God tolde him, that how strong soeuer hee made himselfe, hee should surely be ouerthrowne if he did proceede, because God was not with him. Dauid obserues it, Psal 89.42. That it is God that turnes the edge of the sworde of the warriour, & makes him vnable to stand in the day of battel. Remember the great Armada in the yeere 1588. The preparati-

on was such, that the inuader assured himselfe of victorie & termed it inuincible, yet was it in so short time with so few strokes & skirmishes, & with so smal ships scattered and defeated, that to the eternal memory of gods high hand, & the vtter scorne and reproach of the inuader there was after the maner of the old Romanes, a monument made of it, in certain coyn stamped beyond the seas, with a resemblance of a nauie, and this word fastned to it, *venit, iuit, fuit*, it came, it went, & it came to nothing. And there was not one ancient or honourable house in Spaine but lost a son, or a brother, a kinsman or a friend in that voyage. If it should neuer be lawful to war but vpon assurance of the victorie drawne from the preparation, it should neuer be lawfull for the smaller number to fight with the greater, or the weaker with ỹ stronger, so shuld it haue bin vnlawful for the Israelites to encounter the Aramites, 1. King. 22 27. when the Israelites pitched like two little flocks of kids before the Aramites, and the Aramites filled the country: So should it haue bin vnlawful for Iehoshaphat in this place to resist the inuader, for he confesses vers. 12. of this chap. There is no strength

in

in vs to ſtande before this great multitude that commeth againſt vs, neither doo wee know what to do, but our eies are towards thee. Wherby you may perceiue that in the action of war a caſe may ſo fall out, that it ſhal not be needful for ỹ warrieur to expect any great aſſurance of the victory, but put the matter in triall, euen when the ſucceſſe is doubtfull. Neuertheleſſe I will ſay thus much vnto you, that if a prince can find any meanes to aſſure himſelfe of the victory before the war begin, he may vſe it. 1 Sam. 30, 8. When the Amalekites had ſackt and fired Ziklag, Dauid aſketh counſel of God, whether he ſhal purſue them, & god aſſures him of ỹ victorie, he ſhal recouer al. 1. Chr. 14. Before he ſet vpon the Philiſtines, god preſcribes vnto him which way he ſhould go to worke, he ſhould recoile, & fetch a compaſſe about by the mulbery trees, and when he heard a noiſe or a ruſtling of one going in the tops of the mulberie trees, then God cõmanded him to charge his enemies, for God was gone out before him. The like we find in Gedeon, God gaue him ſignes and tokens to aſſure him that hee ſhoulde preuaile, Iudg. 6. The ſigne was by the fleece wette when the grounde was drie

and the ground wet when the fleece was drie. Iudg. 7. 11. God sendes him by night to the hoast of the Midianites, and by a dreame of the enemie touching a barlie cake, that tumbled downe into the hoast of Midian, and destroyed it, God assured him that he would deliuer his enimies into his hand. This assurance is not gathered from the preparation of man, but from the fauour and power of God. Therfore when this certaintie cannot be attained, princes are bound to attaine to the greatest probabilitie they can, and comparing the hope of their victorie with the danger of their losse, aduenture as far as shall be good for the cõmon weale. If the probabilitie be slender and the warre offensiue, they ought to giue it ouer, because the warre is voluntarie: if the probabilitie be slender, and the war defensiue, it may not be giuen ouer, because the warre is necessarie, It is Iehoshaphats case heere, the probabilitie of the victorie is very smal in respect of his owne forces, yet because he is inuaded, & the war necessary, he makes head to resist the enemie, & commits the cause to God. The fift & last poynt concerning the beginning of this action, is the intention of the warriour. 1 ho. 2. 2. q.

40. a. 1.

4o q. 1. defines it to be *Studium Pacis*, desire of peace, for peace is the end of war, & *vt Mali coerceantur, & boni subleuentur*. That the wicked may be bridled, & the good releeued. War may be vndertaken vppon good cause and lawfull authoritie, yet the intention of the warriour may be euil. Hereupon S. Aug. condemnes in a warriour *Nocendi cupiditatem, vlciscendi crudelitatem, animum implacabilem, feritatem, dominandi libidinem*, A desire to do mischiefe, cruelty in reuenge, an implacable minde, a fell spirit, & an ambitious humor, seeking after rule & domination. Cont. Faustum.

The second difference of time, is the progresse of warre before the victorie: during which time, al the meanes are lawful that are requisite to the attaining of the victory, sleights, shifts, stratagems, burning, wasting, spoiling, vndermining, battery, blows and bloud. I will giue you one example in Scripture for al, Ios. 8. In the taking of Ai there is a stratageme, an ambush laide behind the cittie, an assault giuen before it, semblance of flight, by retiring to draw the enemy out, the citie fierd, the enemy enclosed, and then slaughterd before and behind. S. Aug. q. 10. vpon Iosua determines this matter in few wordes.

The

3 The time after victorie.

The third and last difference is, the time after victorie. Victorie atchieued, and the enemy subdued, because the bloud of the conquerour begins to cole, and it is against humanitie to kill more than needes, the slaughter ceaseth. There be many things in colde bloud to be required: first, to spare the innocents, *Thou shalt not slay the innocent.* Exod. 23. 7 The innocents are reputed to be yong, and olde, women, and children, which are by reason of sex, or yeares, or infirmitie, vnable to carry armes, strangers, and Marchants, which are no partes nor members of the commonweale that hath offended, if it may be found they haue stirred no coles in setting Princes together by the eares, nor caried armes in the resistance made during the time of the fight. The nexte thing is satisfaction for the wrongs done, wherein the spoile and waste of the countrie is to be reckoned for a part, because it is a parte of the punishment. Last of al, hostage may be taken for securitie of peace, & the spoile may be diuided among the souldiers, who deserue as wel to be partakers of the swæt, as of the sowre & bitter brunts of war. Iehoshaphat giues the spoile of the enemie to his army, euery man carries for himselfe vntill 2. Chron. 20. vers. 25

vntill hee is wearie.

Now, seeing we do not make Sermons as beggars make tape vpon a stickes end, wherein there is no taste, to giue you a relish of all that hath beene spoken about this action, cast your eies vppon the warres of your enemie, and your owne warres. You shall finde the warres of the enemie, in the Indies, in Portingale, in Granado, in the low conntries, in France, and against vs, to be vncharitable and vniust, vncharitable, in that they are enterprized without care or consideration of the losse of the countries, vpon which he maketh warre: or of the losse of the Church, whilest by his turbulent spirite christian kingdomes are dashed one against another, the professours of Religion extinguished, Christendome weakened, and the Turke strengthened: without commiseration or care also of his own country or forces by which he fights, leading thē forth like sheep to the shambles to apparant slaughter, his own eies beholding them suncke into the bottome of the seas like a stone, as the hoast of Pharao, or to lie pitifully bleeding at the feete of the reuenger, as the Midianites lay at ỹ feet of Gedeon. That his wars are as vniust as they

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are vncharitable, appæres by the rough regiment of his warriers, that breake all the ancient lawes and priuileges of the Countries where they enter, and turne the glorious and golden administration of iustice, into a hard and yron gouernement of war, administred by violence of arms: so that I may very wel liken the fæt of his soldiers to the fæt of the wolfe, of whō it is writtē, that whatsoeuer he treads vpon neuer prospers after. Loke vpon your owne warres another whyle, you shal find thē to be very charitable and iust, charitable in that they are vndertaken with greater care of ỹ losse of ỹ enemy, than the enemy hath deserued, & with such a regard of our own losse & the losse of the church, that it is the prayer and desire of our superiors, that it may be performed with the least losse of English blod. The equitie and iustice of your warres appæres, in that they are vndertaken, either in the defence of the innocent in those dominions that are bound to sette open theyr gates, that the King of Glory may come in, or in defence of your selues at home, your wiues, your children, your lāds, your liues, your countrie, and an innocent maiden Quæne, whose glorious life hath iniu-

riously

riously and dishonourably bæn sought and thirsted after these many yæres: and to this purpose, mercenarie murderers, Iewes, vnnaturall English, and hatefull traitors hyred by the enemie from time to time to destroy it. These iniuries not ceasing, but increasing yet euery day more and more, *Crescente iniuria crescit ius ad satisfactionem*, The more her Maiesties wrongs and iniuries increase, the more her Maiesties right, and the right of the whole kingdome increaseth to redresse it. And if you be not able in al this to conceiue what a price god hath set vpon the head of her Maiestie, do as the countryman doth that knowes not the price of a pretious iewell: stand by the buier and the seller, marke what the chapman bids for it, and the Marchant refuses, and you shall finde it. Spanish yron hath bæne many times aduentured with great preparation of sword and shot, but all scatterd and defeated: Spanish gold hath bæn offerd, aske what ye will to kill & murder, but stil preuented: Spanish policies distild euery day into drifts to compasse it, but disappoynted. Blessed be God that hath set such a price vpon the head of her Maiestie, that the forces of this worlde are to

weake

weake to conquer her, the treasure of this world too base to buy her, and the wisedom of this world too crazde to circumuent her. In respect of these high fauours of almightie God, this word may well be written vpon the crowne of England, in great capitall letters, set with shining diamondes, that euerie one may reade it running, *videntis & viuentis*. It is the emperial crown of that Ladie, which by Gods great mercy sees and outliues her enemies. To encourage you in so honorable wars as these, I know that if her maiestie only were seated in some eminent place betweene heauen & earth, & did but cast downe one princelie regard vpon you whē you begin to march, it would giue wings to your harts, & hāds, and feet, to flie about this action. But I can tell you of a greater then her maiestie. As in publike Theaters, when any notable shew passeth ouer the stage, the people arise vp out of their seates, & stand vpright with delight and eagernesse to view it well: so is God described in the scripture to stand vpright at the passions of his Church (as at the stoning of Stephen) to marke euerie mans carriage in the same. Assure your selues therefore that in these inuasions and

wrongs

wrongs of the enemie still attempted against our countrey, the God of S Stephen, the God of S George, the God of her maiestie, the God of vs all stands in the confines of heauen and earth, to see & marke, who sendes his strokes neerest to the face of the enemy. And because the enemie hath but two waies to quaile your courage, flatterie and spanish facing, I will shut vp all that I haue spoken to this purpose, with a short exhortation of S. Aug. *Exhorresce quod minatur omnipotens, & ama quod pollicetur omnipotens, & vilescet omnis mundus, sive promittens, sive terrens,* Feare that which the almightie threatens, and loue that which the almightie promises, & the whole world shall become so base and contemptible in your eyes, that you shall neither loue nor feare that which the worlde promises or threatens.

The seconde parte. The exhortation to the action of warre.

THe action of war being thus discourssed, we are now come to the exhortation, wherein the first acte of the soule is, to Trust. The hope of a Christian is compared sometime to a helmet, 1. Thes. 5.

because

because it breaks many a blow that would astonish him: sometimes to an anchor, Hebrewes the 6. chapter, because it stayes him when the sea workes, and the winde blusters. Gregorie likens it to the fasting day that goes before a great holiday, because in the midst of our heauinesse it puts vs in minde, that ioy and saluation is at hand. Bonauenture obserueth that it includes two things, it hath two acts, which are the very wings that moue it: one is an
3.d. 26. g. 4. & 9. expectation or longing for the thing it selfe that is hoped for, Esay 40. ver. 31. *They that waite vpon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall lift vp the wings as the Eagles, they shall runne and not be weary.* This act is proper vnto hope. The other is *Trust*, the act which Iehoshaphat calles for heere: this is a perswasion wherby we iudge in distresse that we shal haue help at Gods hand, and that without him wee can haue no helpe at all, Esay 30. 3. there were some that thoght vpon help from Egipt, to whom God saith that the strength of Pharao should be their shame, and their trust in the shadow of Egypt their confusion. This act is not so proper to hope as the former, but is borrowed of faith. And if you will see the necessity of

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it in the time of warre, looke into your own weakenesse. What is man but a worme crawling vppon the earth? David was a mightie king, yet he confessed himself to be a worme and no man. As when little children first learne to goe alone, feeling the feeblenesse of their owne feete, nature teaches them to thrust out the hande to the wall, and trust to it to stay them: so being once made acquainted with our owne weaknesse, both nature and religion teach vs to trust to a stronger then our selues. This may not be, the faire speech of man, Hier. 7. 4. Trust not in lying words, nor his faire looks, Ezech. 16. there were some that trusted in beautie, and were deceiued; nor his strength, Hier. 17. 5. Cursed is hee that trusteth in man, and makes flesh his arme; nor his wealth, 1. Tim. 6. 17. Trust not in vncertaine riches: nor his witte, God is able to turne it into foolishnesse, as he did the wisedom of Ahitophel. Seeing no trust may be reposed in any of these, wee must seeke out a better obiect, that is heere sette downe to be God himselfe.

¶. *The first obiect* [God.]

The reason of it is this, that all naturall effects haue recourse to their causes when they stande in nede, and they become the stronger. The fish distressed slides into the water, and it is releeued: the birde flies to the dam, and it is shrouded vnder her wings: the Childe runnes to his parents: the Shunamites Childe complained to his Father, hee sent him to his Mother, shee layde him vppon her Lappe, and forsoke him not in death. Strike the dogge, he runnes to his master: wounde the Souldiour, he flies to the armie. The Antiperistasis of the cold makes the heate retyre into the fire, and the force thereof is greater. God is the first cause of all things, and all things haue recourse vnto him, Psalme, The eyes of all things doo looke vppe and trust in thee O Lorde.

If naturall causes, whose goodnesse is finite do cherishe their effectes, howe much more shall God, whose goodnesse

is

is infinite: Sometimes man lookes about him for the helpe of man, and finds none: Pſal. 142.4. Dauid ſayth hee looked about vppon his right hand for helpe, and no bodie would knowe him, and eſpying man to faile, hee turned him to God that neuer failes. The Prophet Hieremie bleſſes him that takes this courſe, he likens ſuch a man to a tree, his truſt to the roote, Gods fauour to the ſap that lies continually at the roote to feede it and defend it. The diuell knowes this verie well, therefore hath it euer beene his practiſe to ſtrip vs of this obiect. You may ſee it in ỹ ſpeech of Rabſakeh, 2. Kings 18. 29. when the enemie lay before Hieruſalem. Let not Ezechias (ſaith he) deceiue you, neither let him make you to truſt in the Lord, ſaying, the Lord wil ſurely deliuer vs, and this Cittie ſhall not bee giuen ouer into the handes of the king of Aſſur. Verily the people of Hieruſalem were pitifully ſtreightend when this was ſpoken, and their trouble ſo inexcuitable in mans eye, that they ſawe no preſent way to eſcape, nor conceiued any likelihood to auoyde them in time to come.

The ſucceſſe of the ennemie many times is ſo great, that hee ſeemes to bee

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sper in all his actions, such a matter it was
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Gen. 4.8. ple in this case, appeare to be at his left hād
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ses and Ephraim standing one at the right
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It is a rule in Rhetorique, that if a man make choyse of a friende to flie vnto in time of nœde, hee shoulde surueigh his power in him, whether he be able, and his kindnesse, whether hee bee willing to yeeld him any succor. In this maner when wee haue singled out God from all other things in heauen or in earth to trust vnto, it is good Rhetorike and good Diuinitie to take a viewe in him of his power, whether hee bee able, of his knowledge, whether hee bee skilfull, and of his goodnesse, whether hee be willing to relœue vs.

His power, without question is farre aboue the power of man, for mans power is finite, and Gods power is infinite, Psalme 89. O Lorde of hoastes who is like vnto thee which art a mightie Lorde. Dauid acknowledges him to haue such a power as cannot bee matched. Ephesians 1. 19. Paul desires God te lighten the eyes of their vnderstanding, that they may knowe what the exceeding greatnesse of his power is towardes them that beleeue. Gods power.

placed at the right hand of God, & to prosper in all his actions, such a matter it was Rabzakeh vaunted of in his speech, that God was on his side, in suffering him to come so neare as to whet his tuskes vppon the walles of Hierusalem. Gods own people in this case, appeare to be at his left hād miserable and vnregarded. Yet as Manasses and Ephraim standing one at the right hand of Iacob, the other at his left, both readie to receiue his blessing. Iacob sodainely crossed his handes, laying his right hand vpon Ephraim, and his left vppon Manasses: so God sodainly shifts his hands in the daies of trouble, hee laies his right hand vppon his people, and deliuers them, and his left hand vpon his enemies, powring an vnexpected contempt and confusion vppon them all. I will giue you twoo examples of it in the Scripture. Euen in one night, when Ezechiah stode in feare of all, and Rabsakeh thought himselfe sure of all, the whole armie of Sennacherib was defeated by an Angell. In one day, when the forces of Iehoshaphat were verie small, and the armie of the inuaders was verie great, the whole power of the enemie was sodainely bro-

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In Arithmetike set one against tenne ten against a hundred, a hundred against a thousand, a thousand against tenne thousand, although there be great oddes, yet there is some comparison, but if you could set downe an infinite number, then there could be no comparison at all, because the one is finite, the other infinite: so is it betweene the power of God and man: sette all the Princes of the earth in opposition against God, they shall neuer bee able to withstand him. Pompey was wont to say, that with one stampe of his foote hee could haue all Italy in armes. God may say that with one stampe of his foote hee can ouerthrow all Italy, and all the worlde beside when it is in armes, Psal. 68. 1. Let God but arise, his enemies shall bee scattered, and they that hate him shall flie before him. God is said Psa. 149. to bind kings in chaines, and their nobles in fetters of iron. if he once fal into fettring of princes, it shal be done so sure, that no flesh shal be able to knock off their bolts again. Ps. 147. God is reported to make fast the bars of your gates. If he once make the barres of your gates fast, trust to it, they shall be so fast, ỳ no preparation of the inuader shall breake

them

them open. We haue three rules in Philosophie, that will make this plaine vnto you.

The first is, that where there be two agents, a superiour, and an inferiour, the inferiour can neuer ouercome the superiour, because the superiour is more actiue. We say in Philosophie, that that is most actiue which is most seperated from earthly parts, most eleuated *à materia*. The phisition distilles his simples into waters, hee makes his extractions and quintessences, that the more they bee eleuated *à materia*, they might be the more actiue, and worke the better. Water is stronger then earth, because it is more actiue, and more eleuated *à materia*. Fire is stronger then water, because it is yet more actiue and eleuated *à materia*. You shall finde it in the sacrifice of the Prophet, where the fire lickt vp the water, burnt the wood, and consumed the sacrifice: Angelles are stronger then men, because they are much more eleuated *à materia*. God is stronger then the Angelles, because hee is most eleuated, hee is aboue earth, aboue water, aboue ayre, aboue fire, aboue men, aboue Angels, aboue all, and ouer all *Actus purus*,

so ful of actiuitie, that none is able to inflict any passion vpon him. The second rule is that *variante materia, forma manet eadem*, according to the change & alteration of your diet, according to the variation of the ayre, wherin you liue, your blood, your humors, your bodies, your complexions doe change and alter, but your soule is the same still. A mans ennemie may cutte off a peece of his bodye, a legge, or an arme, but hee cannot cutte off a peece of his soule. Loke what the soule is to the bodie, that is God vnto his church: all the prophets and apostles, thousands of holy and learned bishops and preachers haue beene cutte off, some by persecution, some by naturall death, yet religion stands, and the Church stands to this day, which is a signe that it is maintained by such a forme as can not varie. Seeing then that all worldly things be transitorie, men vary, the times varie, the pollicies of warre varie, the weapons varie, the squares and orders of fight vary, the places of aduantage and disaduantage varie, it is best trusting to such an obiect as cannot varie: such a one is God that hath *ess: quoddam magnum*, such a great and inuariable essence, that a man safely say vnto him,

him? *Pone me iuxta te, & manus cuiuslibet pugnet contra me*, Lord set me by thee, & then let euery hand fight against me, I feare no variation. The third rule is this, *Animalia multa agũt & patiuntur per phantasiam*, liuing creatures here beneath, doe many things, and suffer many things, by reason of their apprehension of their obiect. The sheep at the first sight of the wolfe apprehends him for a terrible obiect, and naturally feares & flies him: the lion quite contrary apprehẽds no terror in the wolfe at all, but passes by him, and by all the beastes of the forrest, with an honourable scorne and disdaine of all.

About mans apprehension of feare or courage, the situation of his eie either maketh all, or marreth all. When you stand here below vpon the ground, and looke vp to the top of Paules, they that stand vpon the steeple, appeare small of stature to you, although they be tall & great, and they that are next to you seeme great, by reason of the distance of the one, and the nearenesse of the other: but if you stood vpõ the top of Paules and looked downe, then they that are aboue woulde seeme great, and they that are beneath woulde seeme little: So is it with

men

men in the time of trouble, if their eyes be fastned vpon the earth, their enemies wil appeare vnto them to be great and mightie, and God which is so high will appeare little. Neuertheleſſe, if their eyes be in heauen, as Iehoſhaphats eyes were, 2. Chro. 20.12. Our eyes are towardes thee, and loke downe from thence vppon their enemies, God will appeare ſtrong and mightie, and the enemie weake and withered. I will giue you three inſtances of it in the ſcriptures. Numbers 13. Eſpialles were ſent out to diſcouer the land of Promiſe, ſome of them hadde a ſheepes eye, they no ſooner ſawe the great ſtature of the Inhabitaunts, all Giants or Giants fellowes, the high wals of their citties reaching vp to heauen, but they were afraide, they take the people to be inuincible, & the townes impregnable. Caleb quite contrarie hauing his eie in heauen vppon Gods power and promiſe, and loking downe thence vpon the people, and the Cities, apprehended no terror in them at al: let vs go vp (ſaith he) without doubt we ſhall ouercome them. Caleb had a Lions eye, he paſſed by the people and their Cities with an honorable ſcorne of all. 2. King. 7. Samaria

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was in great distresse, a mighty enemie before it, a sore famine within it, there was a nobleman vppon whome the king leaned, that had so base an eye, that loking vppon the present miseries, hee tooke them to bee greater then God, he perswaded himselfe that although God should raine victuales out of heauen, the famine could not be speadily remoued: But Elisha had his eyes in heauen, and loking downe from thence, dispised the present calamities, in respect of the present helpe and hand of God, that by next day would make the price of corne to stoupe so lowe at the gates of Samaria, that it should be there at a very easie rate, and the siege remoued. 1. Esdras 4. there was a flattering courtier, that loking vpon the royall person of the King, helde a paradore that the King is the strongest thing in the worlde, because hee sendeth out his warriours that slay and kill, and ouerthrow Castles, Townes, and Towers, and digge vp the mountaines as they go: but Esa. 40. 22. the man of God apprehendeth no such greatnes in kings & princes, when they be compared with God: and loking downe from heauen vpon the Kings of the earth he saieth they be crickets in respect of God.

Euen

Euen then when they are in their chiefeſt ruffe, with their chariots, and horſe, & men at armes marching to the battell, they are but as graſhoppers trouping out, ſkipping and leaping vppe and downe the field. By theſe things you may perceue that as Moſes ſerpent did eate vp the ſerpents of the Inchanters, ſo Gods power deuoures and ſwallowes vp all the power and ſtrength of man.

Gods knowlege.

There may be power where there is no ſkil to vſe it: If the Dre knew his ſtrength he woulde not ſuffer a childe to driue him: if the horſe were priuie to his own force, he would not ſuffer a boy to ride him. But it is not ſo with God, as he hath might, ſo hee knowes when, and where, and how to vſe it, Iob 12.13. With him is wiſedome and ſtrength. The Schoole menne ſay that hee knowes *non entia*, thinges that are not. They take it out of the fourth chapter to the Romans 17 verſ. He calles things that are not as if they were. Theſe are of two ſorts, either ſuch as are not now in acte, but either haue beene in time paſſed, or ſhall be in time to come. A ſecond ſort of things that are not, is ſuch, as neither are nowe in acte, nor euer were, nor euer ſhall be.

Hee

Seeing then it is the cowardice of man, especially in the times of warres, to feare many things that neuer were, nor are, nor shalbe, it is good at such times to make God the onely obiect of our trust which sees and knowes, that many things which we feare shall neuer fall vpon vs.

Last of all there may be power and skill to helpe when there is no will to vse it: let vs search then whether God be as willing to succor his people as he is powerfull and skilfull. Surely if he were not, he might be laide to be lesse kinde vnto his children, than man and beast is vnto their young, they cherish their yong, they fight for them and defend them. Gods goodnesse towards his people can not be deliuerd vnto you by a better hand than by the doctrine of his prouidence which includes both his knowledge and his wil. Concerning which, seeing there haue beene diuers errors, and I perceiue the dayes and times require they should be touched and opened, I will deale with them as the venerable Iudges of our Country deale (in care and compassion of the Queenes liege people) with those atturnies whom they find to be lose in the hast, and fitte for nothing but to disquiet a kingdome,

Gods goodnes.

Errours about the prouidens of God.

dom, I wil disgrace them, and disable them to do any more mischiefe, race them out of the rowle and let them go. There be 6 of thē in number. The first is, the error of the Stoikes, setting down a kind of prouidēce which they call Fate or Destiny, which runnes thorow a ranke of causes, & brings in an absolute and ineuitable necessity that pinions the armes and the actions of God and man. This error Theodoret discouereth in his first book of curing the affections of the Grækes, and Alphonsus de Castro in his seuenth booke of Heresies, in two seuerall Treatises, one of Fate, the other of Future contingent, beates the nose of this error flat to the face of the deuisers & amintainers of it. The second is y error of Auerroes Metaph. 12. tying Gods prouidence only to celestial things, al terrestrial & corruptible things exempted. This is bewraied by Cyril. Hierosol. catach. 8. Clemens Alexandr. li. 5. Strom. and saint Hierome vpon the eight chapter of Ezechiel, and the twelfth verse (where the Iewes sayde, *Dominus dereliquit terram*, the Lord hath forsaken the earth) auoweheth that this errour was crept into the heartes of the Iewes, for which God threatned in the ninth

ninth chapter of Ezechiel that his eie should not spare them. The third is, the errour of some that helde, that Gods prouidence stretcheth it selfe to corruptible things, onely after a generall manner, and *Ad rerum genera & species, non ad singularia.* Nicenus sheweth it in his eight booke of Philosophy and the fourth chapter, this is against the doctrine of the holighost, that teacheth, that a sparrow lightes not on the ground, nor a haire falleth from our heads without his prouidence. The fourth is, the errour of Rabbi Moses the Iew, laide open by Tho. 1.p.q.22.a.2. Rabbi Moses thought, that among corruptible things, man onely appertained to the prouidence of God, which the Prophet Hieremie confuteth in his two and thirtie chapter and the seuen and twentie verse, *Ego Dominus Deus vniuersæ carnis,* I am the Lord of all flesh, both man and beast. The fift is the error of the Platonists, which distinguish three kindes of prouidence, one of the supreame and high god, which stretches primarily to spirituall things, and secondarily to al the world: another of separated substaunces that moue the heauens circulariter: a third of certaine *dæmones*, which the Platonists place in the midle be-

betweene God and man. Of these I may say as the Prophet Esay saith, chapter 28. They haue made falshood their refuge, they haue shrouded vnder vanitie, and haue trusted vnto lies. The first is the error of Atheists, which vtterlie denies anie God, any care or prouidence concerning the creatures, but will haue all things to be ruled by fortune and chaunce. This is disclosed by Lact li. 1. instit. ca. 2. Nicen. l. 8 Philos. ca. 3. and others. The best way to disgrace and disable this, is to sette a cockl-combe vpon the head of it, as Dauid doth, The foole hath saide in his heart there is no God. Looke vppon all the creatures in the world, you shall find them all make vppe one great and glorious armie, whereof God (like a Monarch) is the high commaunder, they are all marshalde into their seuerall rankes and orders, wherein they march and moue obedient to his becke. Looke vpon the actions & operations of insensible things, stones, plants, and hearbs, you shall see them all tende to their peculiar ends for which they were created, of which endes they haue no knowledge thẽselues, but are directed vnto them by the hand of God, as the arrow is directed to

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the marke by the eye, and the arme of the Archer. Our faith acknowledgeth him. I beleue in God.

The Scriptures discouer him. Ps. 70. 90. 1. O Lord thou hast bin our habitatiō from generation to generation.

Comparisons bewray him, Wisd. 7. Golde is but Grauell in respect of him: the creatures confesse him, Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos, it is he that hath made vs, and not we our selues.

What a shame is it, that the younge, both of menne and beastes are no sooner borne into the world, but by & by nature teacheth them to turne their mouth to the breastes that brought them forth, and men should liue in a religious kingdome vntill they come to the yeares of discretion, and neyther by nature nor religion yet be taught to turne the mouth of confession vnto God to finde him out, that set his hande to the wombe to bring them forth? I will leaue all other prowfes and examples that may serue this purpose, to bring you neere to our owne times.

There was but few yeares since a prophane company about this Cittie, which were called the damned Crewe, menne

without feare, or feeling, eyther of Hell or Heauen, delighting in that title: It pleased God to drawe them all into one net. They were shipt all into one Bark, and passing downe the Riuer with sound of Trumpets, in a faire day, a faire tide, a faire winde, and a faire new bark, sodainly about one of the Reaches a perry of winde came from the lande, & so filled the sailes, that they were all run vnder water before they came to Graues-ende, I coulde neuer heare to this day that any one of them escaped. If that the Bark did appertaine to any of this honorable city, you may remẽber this great iudgment of God by your owne losse.

I doe but gather it vp as I goe, to put you in minde that if God did bles Laban, for Iacob, and Putifar for Ioseph, he shal blesse you and your affaires for receiuing of such as receiue him, and curse and crosse you and your affaires for entertainiug of such as doe not entertaine him. It is wel noted in Gregorie that the performance of things past breeds an assurance of things to come. The experience of Gods Iudgments executed vpon his enemies, and of his fauors and deliuc-

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rances extended to them that feare him, are sufficient arguments of the care he hath of vs, Tho. 1. 2. q 40. a. 8. shewes ỹ experience makes a man cõfident two waies, the one is by making a matter easie, that which a man hath doone often he can easely doe againe, he hath no distrust at all to worke it; Eth. 3. ca. 8. He that hath often ouercome in war, trusts to ouercome againe. The other is the perswasion experience breeds, that the thing which we goe about may be compassed. Both these are in Dauids experience, and in Paules. Dauid hauing found deliuerance by Gods hand out of many troubles, saith: ỹ in the name of his God he will leap ouer the wal. His experiẽce had made the matter so easy to him that it was but a skippe or a iumpe in his conceipt. Paule confesseth. 2. Cor. 1. 8. of the troubles that hapned to him in Asia, wherwith he was prest out of measure, that they were cast vpon him to this end, that he might not trust in himselfe but in the Lord which hath deliuered him, and doth deliuer, and wil deliuer him hereafter. Seeing then God hath a care to saue

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and defend his seruants, as it was a base feare of the Israelits, after so long experience of his mighty hand, so many miracles wrought, signes and wonders shewed on their behalfe, in Egypt, in the red sea, and in the wilderneſſe, to diſtruſt of their entrie into the land of promiſe: So after ſo many tryals of Gods fauour in the deliuerie of this kingdome from the hands of the enimy, it were a vilde and contemptible cowardize, to diſtruſt of the like hereafter. And becauſe in the time of warre the feare of one makes many fear, and the running of one makes many flie, I wil end the diſcourſe of this obiect with the ſpeach which Vitalis a ſouldier and a martyr, vſed to Vrſicinus a Phiſitian which ſuffered many bitter tormẽts for religion, but at laſt, Vitalis perceiuing that as his paines began to encreaſe, his corage & coũtenance began to be abated; *Noli Vrſicine* (ſaith he) *quialios curare conſueniſti te ipſũ perdere, & poſt tot vulnera accepta, corona frandari ſempiterna.* Do not now Vrſicinus which haſt vſualy healed others, deſtroy thy ſelfe, and after ſo many wounds receiued, looſe an eternall crowne of glorie. Merily the attempts of the eni-

Antonin 1.p.hiſt. tit.6.c.25.

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my vppon this land haue been many, hitherto your courage and forwardnes in the defence of your Country hath encoraged others, if you chance at any time to espy the drifts of the enimy to encrease, or his rage grow greater and greater, be not now apalled, & after so many and furious brunts manfully withstood, lose an eternall crowne of glory.

The first consequent [*safety.*]

The first consequēt, flowing frō this act and this object, you see is safety, [you shalbe assured.] To vnderstand this security aright, you must consider that our trust lookes two waies, one is towards God, and there it hath assurance, because his power is such as cannot be masterd, his knowledge such, that none can go beyond him, and his goodnesse such that he is euer ready and willing to help his seruants. Es. 28. 6. He is a strength vnto them that turne away the battell from the gates.

They that trust in the lord (saith Dauid) shall be as mount Sion that cannot be moued. Psa 125. Dauid found him to

be his viceadmirall, that caried the light before him in the darkest times of trouble and guided him with wisdome out of heauen. Ps. 27. 1 The lord is my light and my saluation. The other way it looks is, to the thing hoped for, which is saluation, and this is of two sorts, eyther eternall, or tenporall: God promises neyther of these absolutly, but vpon condition. The condition of the former is Ro. 8: *Si tamen compatimur*. If we suffer with him. we shalbe glorified with him. The condition of the latter is *Inuoca me & eruante*, God enters into a couenant with his people. Exo. 23. to cast out their enemies by little & little; the people enter into a couenant with God also Ex. 24. to do al that he commandeth. It was the order that God & Salomon toke one with another, 1. kin. 8. 44. That when the people went to war, they should pray towards ỳ temple. Therefore if you trust to receiue at Gods hands any of these two things, you must do it *per debita media & debito sperandi modo*, otherwise it is presumption. But if you goe the right way to worke in the time of warre, if euery man reforme his own life, it was it that Achior told Olophernes

phernes, If there were no sin in the inhabitants of Bethulia, hee should fall before them and become a reproch and a scorne onto all the world: if euery man betake himselfe to such a care and preparation of defence, as if all lay vppon man and god did not concur, and then with praier and deuotion so commend the cause to God, as if all lay vpon God and man did not concur. You shall then find that to be verified in you, which Socrates found in the Lacedemoniens, whoe perceiuing that in certaine wars betweene the Athenians & them, the Athenians offered much golde onto their Idols, yet they departed still out of the field beaten. He asked the Oracle what might be the cause of it: and it was answered, that the praiers of ỹ Lacedemonians preuailed more than ỹ gold of the Athenians. No doubt but much cost hath been laid vpon al the actions and attempts of the enimy against you, yet hee goes away beaten, if you will knowe the reason, the praiers of the church of England, haue preuailed more than the gold of Spaine.

The seccond Act [Beleeue.]

THis act in the handling of my Text comes after, which in order of generation goes before the former. Heb.11. Faith is the foundation of things hoped for, and the euidence of things not seene. The foundation goes before the building, and the euidence before possession. The glosse vpon the 1.Matt. saith, that as Abraham begat Isaac, so faith begets hope. Praier is the interpreter of hope, and Rom.10. We cannot pray except we beléeue. How shall they call vppon him, in whome they haue not beleeued? ver.14. *Intellectus est prior potentia quã voluntos.* Mans appetite moues him not to hope for any thing before he knowes it either by sence and féeling, or by an apprehension of vnderstanding. Therefore as 2.Kin.6 the seruant of the Prophet feared vntil his eies were opened, by which he saw the helpe God had prouided, and when hee sawe it his feare vanished: so vntill the mind be lightened by faith, we are distrustfull & stand in doubt, but if wee beléeue our doubt is ouer. Beléeue we cannot but by preaching,

ching, whereby it growes that the obiect of this act in this place, is the Prophet.

The second obiect. [The Prophet.]

AMos.3.7. God will doe nothing but he reuealeth his secrets vnto his seruantes the Prophets. In this respect the Prophet is cald a seer. 1 kin. 9. He sees saieth Isidore many things that other men see not. Sometimes he sees thinges belonging to the Maiestie of God. Esa. 6. He sees God sitting vpon a high throne; somtimes he sees thinges appertaining vnto the manners of men. Esay. 58.7. He sees it necessarie to the fasts of the Iewes to ioine workes of mercy, in feeding the hungry, and releasing the bandes of such as were oppressed; somtimes he sees things present. 2. king. 5. Elizeus sees Gehesi taking rewards although he were not with him: and 2. kin. 6. although he were not in the counsel chamber of the king of Syria, yet he discouered all the plottes and practises of the king of Syria to the king of Israel, so that the king of Syria wondered at it, and mistrusted that some of his own counsell had beene false vnto him, vntill they

they tolde him there was a Prophet in Israell which bewraid al to the king of Israell which the king of Syria spake in his priuy lodgings. Sometimes he sees things to come, Es. 47. 12. The prophet foresees the destruction of Babylon, and tels them of it, that two things shal com vpō them in one day, losse of children & widowhood. The light wherewith the prophetes saw so much, was a light aboue nature, confirmed with arguments aboue nature, it was confirmed by myracles. And as the doctrine of the prophets came down from heauen confirmed by myracles, so ỹ gospel which we preach to you came downe from heauen and was confirmed by myracles, Mar. 16. it is said that the Lorde wrought with the Apostl and confirmed the word with signes that followed: yea, there is a kind of myracle wrought by it vnto this day. What a wonder is it to see a greeuous sinner that hath frozen in his wickednes many yeares, suddenly cōuerted with one sermon, with one sentence in a sermon? All the wisdom of the phylosophers could neuer do it without a moūtain of bookes, much time, much teaching, much practice *ex frequentatis actibus*, and

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when they had done their best, they could neuer attain vnto it. It may seem strãge that the office of the Prophets & Preachers being so excellent an office, & their doctrine so confirmed from time to time, that neither prophet nor preacher should in this declining age of ours be regarded, and we may say as the prophets did *Quis credidit auditu nostro?* Who hath beleeued our report? The people are grown like to springs in summer, the more heat without, the more cold within, the more preaching the lesse deuotion. They may be cõpared to the pinnacles of the belfry, begin to ring they beginne to quake, as if they were afraid, continue ringing, they stãd still, their feare is past.

In the beginning of her Maiest. raign euery man began to tremble at the word of God and to giue hœd to the preaching of the same: but the happy continuaunce thereof hath made it so familiar vnto you that you care not for it. Methinks I could yeeld som reasons of these euentes, 5 on your part, 1. of ours, & ẏ last on gods part

Seauen reasons of the contempt of the Prophets and Preachers of Gods worde.

The 1. is the disposition ẏ is in men. As betwẽen the face of a mã & a glasse, so is it betwẽen ẏ precher & the hearer. The face

face of a man, is the same face, but according to the disposition of the glasses wher on it hath reflection it appeares different, in some it sæmes smoth, in some wrinckled, in some long, in some rounde, there be some prepostterous glasses, that make that which is streight, appeare crooked. Some will inuert the partes of man, and set his head downe and his heels vp.

Such a glasse was Amasia to the prophet after the slaughter of the Edomits, the prophet reproued him for offering Incens to Idoles after the victorie, he choke him vp like a dishclout.

Art thou become the Kings counceller: such a glasse was Ahab to Michaia when hee fedde him with the bread of affliction: such glasses were the people to Hieremy lament-*Rauta Iehoua gna uatati* it is as much as if the Prophet said, Lord thou hast seene that that which is right in me they haue made crooked. Such a glasse was Harding to Iuel, the lerned Bishop complaind of it, that whatsoeuer he spak was to long or to short, or one way or other it stode awry. Such a glasse is the new Presbyterie couching downe at the gates of great personnes, with her bel-

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lie full of barcking libells to disgrace the persons of the best men, and the labours of the best learned in the Church of England. And to be plaine with you, because I trust you loue plaines, such glasses we that are preachers in the country meet withal. You may see it by the practise the holy ghost discouers Hier. 18. 18.

Let vs smite Hieremie with the toong, and giue no heed to his worde.

The best way the diuell can finde to disgrace preaching, is to disgrace ỳ preacher. Concerning this practise, I assure my selfe that much water goes by the Mill, which the Miller knowes not of, therefore standing before the honorable Iudges of our Cuntrey, I will open some thinges to this purpose as I passe along.

The last Assises in the Cuntrey where I dwell, there was a Minister, a bachiler of Diuinitie, that had a cause against one that held his benefice as farmor, and woulde keepe from him both his liuing and his rent that shoulde maintaine him, and doe it by law. But there was a base generation then present, which belike haue some inferior seruices to courtes of iustice, whom I cannot beter liken than vnto

vnto Florus an idle fellow, that saide of Cesar, *Ego nolo Cæsar esse*, I will not be Cesar to march vp and downe in armour among the Britaines, and so leade a laborious and painfull life: to whom Cesar answered, *ego nolo Florus esse, ambulare per popinas, &c.* I will not be Florus to creep into euery kitchen, or to be shrouded vnder the roofes of victualing houses, worried & and eaten vp at last with lice and laziness.

This generation is such as haue had honest trades and occupations to get their liuing, but peraduenture by some euil cariage in their trades, hauing loste both credite and custome, and now scorning the sweat of their occupation, haue found out a new occupation, to liue by ỹ sweat of other mens browes: and to compasse this the better, haue ioyned themselues to some crackt Attourney, which since his disgrace and rasing out of the roll, hath wandered a while in France, vntill his face, or his fortune, or ill fashion of life might be forgotten, and so returns closely to his old vyas. This kind of people espying but one minister to be drawn forth into sutes and quarels, gaue it out lusti-

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ly that they would haue the next assises better furnisht, they would haue three or foure of our brethren there. I will say to your Honors of these people, as Dauid said to Salomon concerning Semei. 1.kin. 2. 8. With thee is Semei that cursed mee with a horrible curse. Although my hand be not vpon him, yet thou shalt not count him innocent, for thou art a wise manne and knowest what thou oughtest to doe vnto him. When any of these caterpillers and cosners of the Queens leege people, shall hale any of the Clergie by violence into the courts, as you are wise & learned in the lawes of our Countrey, mark well the nature of the action, and the qualitie of the persons, and doe according to the wisedome God hath put into your harts, you know what you ought to do in these cases better than I can teache you.

I dare be bold to say, that you shal find the Cleargy of England haunted at this day with three cumbers that troubled the Prophet Ieremy, Lament. 3. The first is, that his enemies chased him like a birde from tree to tree. The second was, they woulde not tarrie vntill hee was dead, but

but cast him quick into a pit, the third against all humanity, when they had him downe they threw stones vppon him presently to keep him down, a barbrous cruelty passing the cruelty of the Italian, the heathen, and the spaniard. The Italian hath a tricke in the art of the rapier & the dagger to teach his scholer with a trauace or two to get the pointe of his aduersaries weapon, and hauing that, to locke him vp so sure that he may turne away his face from him and runne him through, which he saith he doth *Per non veder crudeltà* because hee will behould no cruelty. The tragedies of the heathen poets are stuft full of murder, inhmanity and horrible actions, yet are they perfomed with such a care and compassion of the people, that they are al conuayed frō the peoples eyes. The spanish inquisition hath bene so kinde in some cruelties, that they haue of grace and fauor greas'd the halter for some that weare strangled for religion, that they might be dispatcht the sooner. Let vs craue any of these fauors at the hands of our enemies, let them turne away their faces from vs when they kill vs, that their eyes delight

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not, and their cheeks blush not at their owne cruelty: or conuey the horror and inhumanity of their actions behinde the stage, that the people be not scandald: or grease euery halter that stops our breath that the rope may ride, and make a quick riddance of vs al. Or if they be so gallant faulkners that they make it their pastime and recreation to pursue vs like a quaile or a partridge from place to place, and such huntsmen as haueing once streightned their game be desirous to tumble it into a pit, let them tarry vntill we be colde in the mouth, and then throw Pelion and Ossa the Giants weight vpon vs, we know we shall rise againe. By these practises both you my Lords, and you good people may easily discerne, that this world is a very sea of troubles, wherein there be two ships vnder saile, both men of warre. The one is the church, where Christ is the maister, his crosse the masse, his sanctimony the sailes, the tackle is his patience and perseuerance, the caske peeces are the Prophets, Apostels, and preachers whose sound hath been hard ouer all the world, the mariners be the Angels singing their *Celeumata* glo-

rie be to God on high, the fraught is the soules of iust men, woemen, and children, And the rich gifts and deuotions bestowed vpon churches and colledges bound vp in baggs that shall neuer perish. The rudder is charitie, all the motions and actions of the church are wroght in loue, the ancor is hope, the flagge in the top of her is faith, the worde written in it, *Premimur non oprimimur*. We are cast downe (saieth the Apostle) but wee perishe not. There is another ship at sea which hath this ship in chace, that is the Pyracy of hel, a hot ship and full of wild-fire, where the Diuell is maister, pride the mast, impurity the saile, the wisdome of flesh the Card, the mysterie of iniquity the compasse, Diagoras the Atheist, Iudas ẏ traytor, and the whole rabble of hel the Marriners: two tyre of Ordnance planted in her, one mixt of hereticks & schismatiks, another of persecuting heathen princes, that spit smoke & sulphur at the church of God. There belonges no anchor to this vessel, to stay it when the stormes of the wrath of God arise, for it is subiect to despaire. The flag in the top is infidelitie, the word written in it, *Lucrum est pietas*.

Gaine

Gaine is godlineſſe. You may ſée it in the continuall chace of the Church, for the churches treaſure, landes and leaſes giuen in Pios vſus. The daies haue béene, the queſtion was, What ſhall we bring to the man of God? The daies are now, the queſtion is in euerie Court of iuſtice, in euery high court of Parliament, what ſhall we take from the man of God? 1. Sa. 7. 9.

In the noble Shunamites daies, they deuiſed to build vp a chamber for the prophet, to ſet him vp a ſtoole, a table, and a candleſticke. In theſe noble daies, men deuiſe howe to pull downe the chambers of the prophets, to ouerthrow his ſtoole and his table, and breake his candleſtick in péeces. In the daies of the Leuites whē the portions of the prieſts were detained and the Leuites ſcattered, there was a good Nehemiah that reproued the Iudges and Elders, and ſet the houſe of God in order, and brought the tythes backe againe vnto the prieſt. In theſe daies, if God ſtirre vp a good Nehemia to deliuer vs our portion into our handes, the Kite catcheth it before wee can put it to our mouth. The Cleargie of Englande may nowe ioyne hande in hande in a

faire roundelay and ſing and record one to another, as little children do in the ſtreets, When ſhall we eat white bread? when the puttock is dead. Tobiah and Sanaballet perceiuing the walles of Hierusalem begin to riſe, aſked whether the walles were ſo high that a Fox might not get ouer them: and in theſe daies of ours, if any tricke of a Fox may be found to croſſe the Church, we ſhall bee ſure to haue it put in practiſe.

To this purpoſe it may be you ſhal perceiue ſome broker belonging to the common Law, or ſome ieſter hanging vpon the Court, or ſome Lyris Poet and common Rimer houering about this Cittie, ſubborned and bolſtered to deale in deriſion of the Church in time of parliament as Italians do in their plaies, that come huſking in on a ſudden with ſlights, ſhifts iugling, packing, tricks of legier de main, all caſt and contriued to no other end but to intoxicate the whole Sceane, and to make game and laughter for the lookers on. But let the graue affaires of this church and kingdome be once turned into ſport, and you ſhall quicklie ſee by the multitude of iudicious eies faſtened vpō

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the actions of all kingdomes, by ỹ bookes of intelligences daily printed, and by the innumerable company of learned heads and pens, working and walking day and night, that all Christendome shortly will ring of the pageants plaide among vs, & shortly all Christendome will abhor vs, as a people prophane and irreligious. A great part of this mischief being hatched by the presbyterie.

2 The second reason is, the mistaking of the physicke that should haue bæn administred vnto the presbyterie. Conference, conniuence, tolleration, disputation, printing of bookes, and preaching of sermons, haue bœne applied vnto them, these are all wrong Apozems, one dram of Elleborus would haue purged this humour. It was the iudgement of a verie learned Bishop many yeares agoe, that correction would amend it.

By fauour and suppost these Mermine that were long since, by the labours of learned bishoppes hewen in pæces, haue crept out of their holes, from Leidon and other places, and by continuall rolling recouered their taile, their torne papers and maimed pamphlets haue bin stitcht

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togither againe with a skaine of Silkers thred, and wrought round with a white selvedge of reformation to grace them, whereby the eares of the Church haue bene filled with a newe hissing, to the very mockerie of religion, and the impudent slander of the church of Englande, which is by Gods great blessing at this day (euen in her ruines) the most famous church in Europe.

It is said of S. Antonie, that two yéers before the heresie of Arrius brake foorth, being in his deuotions and casting vppe his eies towards heauen, he had a vision, wherein he saw Gods altar compassed about with a company of brute beasts, kicking and striking at it with their hæles, vntill they ouerthrew it, and trampled al the holy things vnder their fæt. He wept when he beheld it, and perswading himselfe that some troble in the church would follow, he praied vnto God to turn away the mischæfe. Were S. Anthony now aliue, he should not sæ these matters by shaddows or representations in the ayre, but in liuely acts and dædes, Gods altar inuironed with a company of proude Bules, striking at it with their hæles,

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the altar it selfe battered by violence and beaten downe, holy things troden on and trampled with foule fæt. Those things which in all religious ages haue bæne counted *Phobera cai phricodestata*, feareful and terrible, are nowe of no reckoning nor reputation, religion scorned, & præst derided, those conflictes betwæn the preachers and the people that Paule tasted at Ephesus, where he fought with beastes in the shape of men.

All these miseries springing from a wrangling humor of the Presbyterie, that hath brought religion into contempt. Neuer a good S. Antony wæpes ouer it, neuer a good Mattathias rentes his clothes, no mans bowels work like the wine that hath no vent, to inueigh against it with that egernesse the cause requires. It is a signe that religion decaies, and deuotion growes cold among us.

When the weather is hot euery man opens his mouth, but when it is colde hee shuttes it so close that his tæthe chatter: where zeale is there is heate, and where heate is men will quest and open, Psal. 77. *Aperiam os meum*, I will open my mouth (saieth the Prophet Dauid.) We can-

cannot (saith Peter) but speak the things that we haue seen and heard. Where no zeale is, there is no heat, where no heat, no speeche but chattering and vnperfect soundes, hollow and minced betwæn the teeth, as if men were afeard to speake: surely such are vnfit for Gods seruice, he cannot abide to se a quaking hand in his quarrell. As it is a signe of faintnesse to se this & to be silent, so it is a sign there is somthing in mẽ vnnaturall. For we say in Phylosophie, *vnumquodque magis inclinats in id cuius est*. Euery thing is naturally inclined vnto that to which it apertaineth. If the body be in daunger, the arme is presentlie lifted vp to receiue the blowes comming vpon it selfe, that with the hazard of it selfe it may saue the body, because it is a member of the body. This Honorable Citty is a body pollitike, euerie good cittizen which is a member of it, when he spies the Charters, priuileges, and immunities thereof graunted by the grace and fauour of our Princes, to be in danger, will with the hazzard of his own substance seeke to defend and keep it.

The Church is a bodie mysticall, euery one of you if you appertaine to God is

a Citizen of this Ierusalem, & when you see the church in danger, if there be anie kinde or naturall affection in you at all, euery man when the daunger doeth approch, will with the hazzard of his owne person, obiect and cast himselfe betwæn the church and it. But the want of this affection, and the neglect of this physick, is a reason of the contempt that growes vpon vs.

3 The third is, the difficultie of mans attaining to his ende, trees and plants, & all inferiour creatures, attaine their perfection and end with fewe motions, with nourishment and augmentation. The holy Angels of god attained vnto their end with one motion, with one conuersion vnto god, *in instanti*, euen at the instāt of their creation became blessed. But Man is cōpared in the ps. to a watch, he hath a great many gimols appertaining to him to moove him, hee mooues like a watch or a coatche with many wheæles. The act of his vnderstanding giues him one motion, presenting the obiect to him which he must embrace, his appetite sensitiue giues him another motion cōtrarie to the former, *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum*,

ritum, the flesh lusteth against the spirite. His own will giues him another motion, God created it to moue it selfe *ad opposita*, the external obiect giues him another motion, The view of the forbidden fruit moued Eue to taste and eate it. God himselfe which hath the hart of man in his hands and turnes it as the riuers in the South, giues him another motion: among all these, some mouing regular, some retrograde, some forward, some backwarde, some towardes heauen, some towardes earth, It is no hard matter to tune an instrument of musick, A paier of virginals or a payre of Organs when euery string and pipe is out of tune, but man being a creature so witty, so subtle, so proude, so surlie, so wedded to his own will & opinions, & rolling vpon so many wheeles, to set euery string & pipe of man in tune, to make al his motions concur and agree to gither *Hic labor hoc opus est*, It is the hardest professiō in ỹ world to be a preacher.

The 4. reason is a riddle. I pray you riddle me what is that, that is the highest the lowest, the fairest the foulest, the strongest the weakest, the richest the poorest, the happiest the vnhappiest, the safest

feſt and the moſt in danger of any thing in the woꝛld: I will not pꝛomiſe euerie one of you as Samſon did, a neW ſute of apparell to expound it. It may bee this age wil take oꝛder foꝛ the Cleargies liberality, yet I muſt tell you, that as Samſons riddle was not expounded but by ploughing with *Samſons* Heifer, ſo this cannot be declared but by ploughing wꝭ Gods own Heifer. And that I may not hold you long in ſuſpence, it is all but one thing, it is a good Chꝛiſtian. He is the higheſt thing in the woꝛld, his conuerſation is in heauen, Col. He is the loweſt thing in the woꝛld, euery man treads vpon him, he may ſay with Dauid, *De profundis ad te clamaui.* From the deapthes haue I called vnto thee. This is very low. He is the faireſt thing in the woꝛld, he is a member of the church of God, which foꝛ her beautie is compared in the Canticles to the Sunne and the Moone, and to an Armie well oꝛdered and ſet in good aray, thꝛée things very beawtifull to loke vpon. He is the foWleſt thing in the woꝛld, ſo diſguiſed with Watching, Weeping, Faſting, Pennaunce, and manie other voluntarie afflictions of bodie and mind, that

that he lookes like a bottle dried in the smoak, and tanned many times with the sun of persecution he growes as black as if he had lien among the pots. He is the strõgest thing in the world, he hath faith, he hath hope, he hath loue, three strong thinges; faith hath a force to remoue mountaines, hope is an ancor that staies the greatest ships in the greatest storms, loue is as strong as death, it enters the strongest holde, neither walles, nor bulworks, nor rampiers can kæpe it out; what a strength had Dauid? *Non timebo quid faciat mihi homo*, I will not feare what man can do vnto me. What a strength had Eliah the Prophet that durst go to a king and face him and tell him that it was he that troubled all Israell. A good christian hath sometime a strength and a power in his eie passing the eie of Plantianus. Herodian saith of Plantianus, Seuerus the Emprors minion, that he had such a terror in his couetenance that men durst not looke him in the face, if they did, they were so dawnted that it drove them to cast their eies downe vnto the ground. For this cause when he went abrode he had certaine Anteambulones, some that

ran

ran before him to marshall the way and giue warning of his comming, that men might cast their eies to the earth as hee passed by; but this terror was vnto his inferiors. It is said of S. Benedictus, that he had such a power and terror in his eie, euen to his superiors, that casting but a lok vpon Totylas the king of the Gothes, a furious & an audacious king, hee made him quake and tremble. Marke it when you wil in the persecutions of the church, you shall many times discouer such a glorie and maiestie in the countenaunce of them that are put to death, as was in the face of Stephe when he was stoned, their torments are more afraid of them, than they are of their torments. Yet are they againe so weake at another time, if God do but hide himselfe a while, that eyther they complaine with Dauid, *Quare tristis incedo dum affligit me inimicus?* Why goe I thus heauily while mine enemy oppresses me? Or couch down with Eliah vnder a Juniper tree, wearie of themselues, and desire God to take awaie their life. He is the richest thing in the worlde, hee hath Christ Jesus the very treasure & riches of God, and in him all thinges: he is the

powerest thing againe, hee hath his good name and his goodes taken from him. Heb. 11. 37. He is destitute, afflicted, and tormented, euen to the losse of life it selfe at last.

He is the happiest thing in the world, he hath a good conscience, which is a continuall feast. Prou. 15. He is againe the vnhappiest, his handes be tied, hee may not be reuenged: his eies be muffled, he may see no vanitie: his lips be sealed, hee may not render rebuke for rebuke, and liuing here in this world which is a kind of Paradice to carnall men, full of Honour and wealth, and pleasures, which many other men embrace, while GOD hath set him (as the Poets fained of Tantalus) vppe to the chinne in these thinges, and will not suffer him to taste them. Touch not, taste not, handle not. What a miserable life is this?

Last of all, he is the safest thing in the world, he is euer vnder the shadowe and protection of the winges of God: he is also the most in danger in soule and in body of any thing in the world, his soule is the very But against which Satan dischargeth all his shot of temptations, his bodie

many

manie times in perils by sea, by lande, among false brethren, compassed about with daunger, on the right hand and on the left. Being the office of the preacher to bring both these endes togither, and euerie man being desirous to be partaker of the heigth, the beautie, the strength, the riches, the happinesse, and the safety that accompanies religion, but fewe or none willing to tast of the baseneſſe, the deformitie, the weakneſſe, the pouertie, the miserie, and the daunger that waites vpon religion, Many deale with vs as Demas did with Paule, that forsook Paule and betooke himselfe to the present world.

The fift reason is, the combat of contraries: when fire and water meet, you shal heare a ratling and hissing in the water, which procædes from the encounter of two contraries, the one striuing to destroy the other. The end of Gods word is to reforme mans iudgement, and his life: Gods worde is true, but *Omnis homo mendax*, Euery man is a lyar, his iudgement erroneous and his life erroneous. When truth and falshood, the word of god and the word of man doe meet, there begins the conflict, the one striues to de-

stroy

ſtroy the other. Gods word is a fier, mens affections are water, when fier and water ioine, they begin to raſtle and hiſſe one at another. Paint a fier vpon a peece of cloth, and caſt that into the water, you ſhall heare no hiſſing at all, becauſe it is no true fier. Paule preaching at Epheſus againſt their idols, hee ſcatterd true fier among them, Demetrius ſtartles at it and ſtirres vppe ſedition among the people, there the contrarie roares and rattles: in comes the Towne-clarke with the magnificence of Diana, a falſe fier, a counterfait fier, there is no contradiction to him at all. It is the very caſe oftentimes, if the preacher come to you with a painted fire, and ſtroake your ſpleene, and tell you that all is well, becauſe you are predeſtinate you ſhall goe to Heauen ſleeping, as men carried in a Coatch without any action or motion of your owne, we ſhall neuer be gainſaide. But come to you with a true fire, and tell you-you muſte worke out your ſaluation with feare and trembling, you beginne to murmur, becauſe you are contrarie vnto vs.

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The word in vs labours to destroy sin in you, sin in you labours to destroy the word in vs, and thus we become despised. These fiue reasons are on your part.

The next is on our part, and it is drawne from generation. Preaching is an acte of generation, it begettes faith. Among other things in the talke of Esdras with God, 2. Esd. 5:49. Gods tels him, that in generation, *Infans non parit ea quæ sunt senum*, a childe cannot performe that which a man performes. Therfore Paul would not haue a preacher to be a yong scholler. A great part of ỳ troubles of the church of England hath sprung out of greene heads, that haue much busied thẽselues about the state of bishops, these are yong cockerels, that haue learned only to clap their feeblewings, & to crow vpon the roost in time of peace, but when religiõ is in danger, they dare not come into the cockpit, to trie masteries for religion as M. Iewel and many other good bishops haue done that are gone to God. As preaching is an act of generation, that requires growth, so it is an exercise of artilery, that requireth strength and knowledge. The souls of men are the faireſt marks that can be shotte at: and we must do as archers do

The archer first takes a viewe of his marke, then considers the distance of the ground, after that he carries his eye ouer all the shafts in his quiuer, he pulles out, and puts in one after another, vntill hee haue made choyse of his arrow: then hee proues it with his finger, and iudges by his eare whether it bee drie and fitte to flie vnto the marke: then he markes how the winde sittes, to helpe him or to hinder him: when he hath put his arrow into the bow, and begunne to draw, if there come a guske of contradiction in his way, he hath the discretion to pawse and to beare with it, vntill it haue spent it selfe: when the blast is ouer, he settes his foote to the groumde, lies close to his bowe, drawes his arrow vp to the head, and sticks it vp to the feathers. Either want of yeares for the act of generation, or want of growth to draw the bowe of the Prophets and Apostles, & want also of skill to shoote, and care to shoote when wee haue taken our aime, makes vs many times to misse the marke, and so we become despised.

The seuenth and last reason is on Gods part, and this is fearefull. When God is determined to destroy a people, he makes

their

their harts fat, and their eares heauie, and they become careleſſe of the word of God. It was it that the Prophets noted in Amaziah. By this I know (ſaith he) that God is determined to deſtroy thee, *Quia non acquieniſti conſilio meo*, Becauſe thou haſt not followed my councell. I pray you thinke vpon it in this oppoſition of yours againſt the Church of England, it is verie ominous, a feareful ſigne that God is determined to deſtroy you, *Quia non acquieniſtis conſilio noſtro*, Becaule you haue bin taught the trueth euer ſince the beginning of the bleſſed raigne of her mateſtie, and you haue not hearkened vnto our counſell. Lette vs yet obtaine the credit at your hands which you ought to yeeld vs, and you ſhall ſee what will follow of it, euen this conſequent, which he, Ieholhaphat, ſpeaketh of [You ſhall proſper.]

The ſecond conſequent [Proſperity.]

THis may ſeeme ſtrange that Ieholhaphat in this buſie time of warre drawes the people to haue regarde vnto the Prophets, with an expectation of proſperitie: at ſuch times men commonly dare not giue any countenance to the prophets, for feare of

the trouble that is annexed to religiõ. This is to exhort the faithful to build vpon the sand. A man would think hee should rather haue moued thẽ to prepare themselues vnto temptation, as Saint Iames doth, or for trouble, as our Sauiour Christ doeth *pressuram habebitis*, you shall haue trouble, or to look for persecution, as Paul doth: He that wil liue godly (saith he) must suffer prsecution. Of which kind of speech Saint Augustine saith, *Qui hoc loquitur confortat infirmum vt non cum ille crediderit prospera huius sæculi speret. Si autem doctus fuerit prospera huius sæculi sperare, ipsa prosperitate corrumpitur, & superuenientibus, aduersitatibus sauciatur aut fortassis extinguitur*. Hee that speaketh this, speaketh not this to the end that a man when hee hath beleeued, should looke for the prosperitie of this worlde, for if hee bee taught so to doe, prosperitie it selfe corrupteth him, and when aduersitie commeth, either it woundeth him verie sore, or dispatcheth him outright.

A Preacher of the worde of GOD builds not vpon the rock, whẽ he builds so, but vpon the sand, and when the raine falleth, the wind blows, and the waues of aduersi-

uersitie beat vpon his worke, the fall of his house is great. But if ye loke well into the scriptures, you shal finde that according to the difference of times, and of the affections of people, the exhortatiõs differ. They that haue already beleæued, are so affected with heuenly things that they despise the world, & such are exhorted to loke for trouble & aduersitie before it comes: so deales our Sauior, Iames, & Paul with their schollers: such as are affected with the world, and doe not yet stedfastly beleæue, God is contented to drawe them vnto him, with promises of worldly prosperitie, that by these steppes they may ascend by little and little to loue him for himselfe at last. Such were they that Iehoshaphat spake vnto, men affected with their peace and prosperitie, hee therefore exhorts them, to beleæue the prophets, with an expectation of prosperitie. S. Iohn Ep. 3. discouers two kindes of prosperitie to his friend Gaius, one of the soule, another of the body, and he wishes both to him.

Where the holy prophets and priests of God haue their due regard & credite, both these folow, the soul prospers: the prophets doctrine is likend in scripture to raine, mãs

is the ground into which it falleth, and by the watering thereof many a goodlie flowre of Fayth, Hope, Loue, Temperaunce, and such like heauenly vertues crépe out of the paradice of the soule. The bodie prospers also, Ps. 8.13. O that my people had hearkened vnto me (sayth God) I would haue humbled their enemies, and turned my hand against their aduersaries. The reason of it is the same. by which we say trees and plants do prosper, which standing with the rote in the mire, & in the water, drawe that to them which is good for them, and refuse that which is hurtfull: and so they growe and prosper, not by any vnderstanding of their owne, but because they are guided, *ab intelligentia non errante*, they are guided by god, whose vnderstãding neuer erres. The knowledge of the prophet is a light streaming out of Gods owne bosome into the breastes of ỳ prophet, & as the learning of the scholer is a paterne of the learning of the master, so the knowledge of ỳ prophet, is a bright beame of the knowledge that is in god: they that will beléeue the prophets shall be guided, *ab intelligentia non errante*, by an vnderstanding ỳ neuer erres, & they shall prosper in their actions.

actions. Contrariwise, they that despise and reiect the Priestes and the Prophets sent vnto them, are like vnto a beaten bark in the maine sea, without rudder, without maister, without Card or Compasse, snatched away with euery flaw, and rent vpon euery rocke, they can neuer prosper. It shal be good for you in these dayes wherein men haue laide all their batterie against the Church, as if there were nothing in this kingdome out of order but the Church, to considder somewhat better of your owne selues, and doe it in time. For I dare bee bolde to tell you, that God can not abide to see that kingdome prosper, which cannot abide to see his church prosper. 2. Chron. the foure and twentieth chapter, and twentith verse, Why transgresse ye the commandements of the Lord (saith Zechariah) surely ye shall not prosper. The worde was no sooner out of his mouth, but the people conspired against him, they got him to be made away by the kings commaundement. The holy man saide no more to it at his death, but this, The Lorde looke vpon it and require it: and the yeare was no sooner come about, but God sent an army against them smaller in number than themselues, closed

them all in their enemies hands, the kingdome was spoyled, the nobilitie destroyed and rifled, the pray sent to Damascus, the king himselfe murdered in his bed by his owne seruauntes, and all this was done (saith the holyghost) for the blood of the children of the Priestes. As many of you as take our prosperitie to bee a pricke in your eies, laye this to your heartes, and thinke vpon it. It grieueth me to speake it, and it grieueth me more to thinke it: you may see it if you will, that whilest you are whetting of a knife for to cutte our throates, God is whetting of a sworde to cut your throats.

It was the promise of our Sauiour, that the Faith of the Church shoulde remoue mountaines: and indeede the persecuting heathen emperors were very great mountaines that stoode verie high, and very stiffe in the churches way, but the faith of the Church hath remoued them all out of her way. It was the praier of the Church against her ennemies long since, *Dorsum eorum incurua*, Lord bow downe their backs, looke vpon Domitian, Decius, Diocletian, Iulian the apostata, Herod and Antiochus, and a number such like Princes persecuting

ting of the church, all their backes haue bin sodainely bowed downe or broken by one feareful death or other. Valerian the emperour was a bitter enemy of the Church, and it pleased GOD in his life time so to bow downe his backe, that he made him a footestoole for his proud ennemie the King of Persia, to get vp to horse. Looke vppon the liues, or vpon the deaths of all the princes of the earth that euer stoode vp in opposition against the church, you shal find that verified in them that Dauid noted, *Vindemiat spiritum principum*, he cuttes off the spirits of Princes. In which maner of speech he likeneth GOD to a vinerole, and the Princes of the earth to great clusters of Grapes in the time of Vintage, when they are ripe, and the measure of their sins full, then commeth God in with his paring knife, he shareth off these great clusters one after an other, and sweepeth them awaye quite from the face of the earth.

My Text hauing thus ledde mee by steppes and degrées vppe to the chinne in the Churches quarrell, because that after the last seruice I performed to the Church in this place, it was told me to my

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head fortie miles hence in the presence of an honourable man, that I had stricken at some great person, and should be called in question for it: I do not thinke but my innocencie was lookte into, in that it was almost two yeares since, and from that daye to this I never heard more of it. Nevertheless, that I be no more mistaken, I wil speake a word or two to this purpose, and so commit you to God.

I remember the Prophet Hieremie in his fourth chapter and fourth vers. finding his speach to be of little force amongest the common people, said thus to himselfe: surely they are poore and foolish, and knowe not the way of the Lorde, I will get mee to the great men & speake to them, for they know it. But when he had taken a view of them, he confessed, that they also had cast away the yoke of their obedience vnto god. This was not my drift at that time, neither is it my intent now. I do rather set before mine eies the complaint of the Prophet Hieremie Lament. 3. where he compareth great persons to fine gold, and to the stones of the sanctuarie, and bewailes to see them in disgrace. If it be the commendation of the two Tables that they were written with gods

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owne finger, it can not but be a matter of high reckoning and reputation, that men doe rise to honour and authoritie, eyther in the church or in the commonweale, it is a curious parcell guilt laide vppon them by Gods owne finger, and no wicked tongue may licke it off againe. Yet I must tel you thus much, that as euery man hath a particular end of his actions, and embraceth all the honest meanes hee can to attayne to it; the end of the Marchant is gaine, the end of the Souldier is victorie: so the ende of the Preacher is Gods glorie: the meanes we vse to attaine vnto it, is preaching, and preaching is haile-shot; we send it among the thickest of you, desirous to hitte you all. And if we can strike, and strike kindly here a Iudge, and there a Magistrate, heere a Nobleman, there a Gentleman, heere a Courtier, there a Countrieman, heere a Lawyer, there a Client, it fareth with vs as it did with the Troians, when the siege was raised, and the Grecians returned to their ships, they delighted to view the void places where they fought: when our work is ouer, it doth vs good as wee come this way, to cast vp our eyes to these places where we haue tried our strength in Gods

seruice,

seruice, and may say vnto our selues, Here we tilted, there wæ tourneyed, here wæ thundered, there wee lightned, heere wee fought, and there we ouercame, bearing vp a rich conquest of soules vpon the poynt of our speares to heauen. The Philosopher saieth of naturall bodies, that the nearer they come to their spheres, the faster they moue. Throw a stone from aboue, the nearer it comes to the earth, the faster it moueth: the dogge when he follows the hare, the nearer he is to it, the faster he runnes to pinch and take holde of it: the Falcon, soaring in the ayre, and spying his game beneath, strikes the wing, and comes downe with such a force, that the ayre suffers violence in his passage, the nearer he comes to it, the swifter he flies, and makes his point brauely when he stowps. By this long continuance of the gospel among you, the kingdome of heauen is nearer to you now than when you first beleæued: God stands at the end of your race, as he did at the top of Iacobs ladder to allure you: put your trust in him, and you shall be assured: he hath sent out his Prophets and Preachers to halow the game vnto you. If you cling somwhat close vnto vs, you shall moue spedily towards

wards your sphere, you shall runne well, and stoppe well, liue wel, and die well, and make a gallant point. As for my selfe, because it is no small matter for God to separate a Priest from the people, and to take him neere to himselfe to do the service of the tabernacle, and to stand before the congregation, standing here in the sight of God, of Angels, of men, we speake *presente Scæuola*. And the Wiseman saith Eccl.43. that al things are directed by God to a good end, and when wee haue spoken much, yet we cannot attaine to them: but this is the end of all, that God is all, and there wil come a time (saith Augustine) when we shal enter into the presence of God, wherein many things we talke of nowe shall cease, and God shal be one in all, and wee shall be all one, and speake one thing, and praise one God. I will therefore winde vp al that I haue spoken this day with that short prayer wherewith Saint Augustine makes an end of a laborious disputation of the holie Trinitie, *Domine Deus vnus, Deus Trinitas, quæcunque dixi in his libris de tuo, agnoscant & tui: Si qua de meo, & tu ignosce & tui.* O Lord my God, which art one God, God the Trinitie, if I haue spoken any thing heere that Num.16.9

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is thine, I humbly beſeech thee and thine to accept it at my handes: If I haue ſpoken any thing that is mine, or followd the sway of flesh and bloud, I humbly beſeech thee and thine to forgiue it me, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holighoſt, three glorious persons in Trinitie, one eternall God in substance, to whom be all honour and glorie, praise, power, and dominion, now and euer, *Amen.*

FINIS.

71. 4

THE LECTVRES OF SAMVEL BIRD OF IPSWIDGE VPON the 8. and 9. chapters of the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

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